

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
IO-13 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 MCT-01 SY-05 /098 W
-----006414 271412Z /41

R 271200Z MAY 78
FM AMCONSUL MILAN
TO AMEMBASSY ROME
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 6016
AMCONSUL FLORENCE
AMCONSUL GENOA
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMCONSUL PALERMO
AMCONSUL TURIN
AMCONSUL TRIESTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MILAN 0823

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT
SUBJ: PCI MILAN PROVINCIAL SECRETARY ON POST-ELECTION SITUATION

REF: MILAN 0182

SUMMARY. MILAN PCI SECRETARY JUST RETURNED FROM PCI MAY 25 ROME MEETING SAYS THAT BERLINGUER POSITION NOT IN DANGER, THAT PCI LOST MORE THAN EXPECTED, THAT IT IS UNDER NO PRESSURE TO SHIFT TO LEFT, THAT NO NEW CRISIS IN MILAN, LOMBARDY OR NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS EXPECTED UNTIL AFTER PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND THAT ZACCAGNINI LOOKS LIKE ONLY LIKELY PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE RIGHT NOW. END SUMMARY.

1. RICCARDO TERZI MET WITH CONGEN AND YOUTH OFFICER MAY 26 IMMEDIATELY AFTER TERZI'S RETURN FROM ROME PCI MEETING MAY 25 OF PROVINCIAL AND REGIONAL SECRETARIES ADDRESSED BY BERLINGUER. A FORMER WORKER IN LATE THIRTIES, TERZI IS BY NATURE TACITURN
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BUT HAS ALWAYS BEEN FRIENDLY AND RESPONSIVE, AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED.

2. TERZI VOLUNTEERED THAT PCI SETBACKS IN LOCAL ELECTIONS REQUIRED DOSE OF SELF CRITICISM BUT NOT CHANGE IN BASIC PARTY POLICY. HISTORIC COMPROMISE WAS NOT A TACTICAL COURSE TO ALTER EVERYTIME SEAS GOT ROUGH BUT RATHER A BASIC CHOICE IN PARTY

STRATEGY. STILL, DC-PCI MODUS VIVENDI NEEDED AT NATIONAL LEVEL WAS NOT ALWAYS BEST SUITED TO LOCAL OR REGIONAL NEEDS. PCI LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD HAVE TO TAKE A MORE CRITICAL STAND IF LOCAL SITUATION WARRANTED. PCI COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO PAY COST OF SHARED RESPONSIBILITIES OF BEING IN MAJORITY BUT NOT IN GOVERNMENT WHERE IT WOULD HAVE A GREATER HAND IN CARRYING OUT THE POLICIES FOR WHICH IT SHARED POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY.

3. TERZI DISAGREED WITH THOSE WHO SAID THAT THE PARTY WAS IN TROUBLE WITH ITS LEFT. RATHER, IT WAS IN TROUBLE WITH ITS RIGHT WHERE HARD WON VOTES OF THE RECENT PAST WERE LOST DURING THE MORO TRAGEDY AS THEY RETURNED TO THE PSI AND DC. THIS WAS AN EMOTIONAL REJECTION OF THE LUNATIC LEFT AND NOT OF THE PCI, ACCORDING TO TERZI, AND WOULD IN MOST CASES BE TEMPORARY. IT CERTAINLY SHOULD NOT BE SEEN AS AN ENDORSEMENT OF CRAXI AND THE PSI ALTHOUGH THEY WERE BENEFITTING FROM THEIR POLICY OF DIFFERENTIATING THEMSELVES FROM BOTH THE PCI AND THE DC. NOR SHOULD IT BE SEEN AS A CONDEMNATION OF THE PCI RECORD ON THE MORO AFFAIR WHICH HE BELIEVED WAS APPROVED BY MOST ITALIANS. ACCUSATIONS BY BOTH THE ULTRA-LEFT, THE FAR RIGHT AS WELL AS PARTS OF THE DC AND PSI THAT THE PCI WAS THE FATHER OF THE BRIGATE ROSSE ABOUNDED AT THE SAME TIME THE CURCIO AND HIS GROUP KEPT DESCRIBING THEMSELVES AS COMMUNISTS. SOME OF THAT, SAID TERZI, RUBBED OFF ON THE PCI. BUT THE POINT WAS THAT THE PCI HAD NO MOTIVE TO SHIFT POLICIES TO THE LEFT TO RECAPTURE VOTES SINCE IT HAD LOST NONE THERE.

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4. WAS BERLINGUER ABOUT TO BE DUMPED? NOT AT ALL, SAID TERZI. THERE WAS NOT MUCH DISAGREEMENT ABOUT THE BASIC POLICY. THE PCI HAD LOST SOME VOTES SINCE THIS WAS AN OFF YEAR ELECTION. IT HAD LOST OTHERS BECAUSE OF ITS ASSOCIATION IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITH THE BRIGATE ROSSE. AND IT HAD LOST VOTES BECAUSE IT HAD AVOIDED A TOUGH CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE DC SINCE IT HAD PUT TOP PRIORITY ON KEEPING THE DC FROM CAVING IN ON CONCESSIONS TO THE BRIGATE ROSSE FOR MORO'S RELEASE.

5. THE NEXT TEST WOULD BE THE REFERENDUM. TERZI WAS NOT WORRIED ABOUT THE REALE LAW SINCE EVERYONE WANTED LAW AND ORDER. BUT PUBLIC FINANCING OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES COULD WELL BRING OUT A BIG KNOW-NOTHING VOTE. STILL, HE THOUGHT THAT BOTH REFERENDA WOULD BE DEFEATED.

6. WHO WOULD SUCCEED LEONE? TERZI LOOKED BAFFLED. THE OBVIOUS MAN HAD BEEN MORO. FANFANI WAS UNLIKELY. DEMARTINO HAD BEEN BURNED BY RANSOMING HIS KIDNAPPED SON. LAMALFA AND NENNI WERE TOO OLD. ANDREOTTI HAD LOTS OF TIME FOR THE JOB LATER. NO COMMUNIST COULD BE CONSIDERED. THAT SEEMED TO LEAVE ONLY ZACCAGNINI. HE HAD SURPRISED ALL BY HIS COURAGE DURING THE MORO AFFAIR

EVEN THOUGH HE WAS A CLOSE FRIEND OF THE MORO FAMILY AND HAD BEEN ACCUSED IN THE MORO LETTERS. BUT NONE OF THE PROSPECTS LOOKED VERY GOOD TO TERZI.

7. HAD THE PCI REALLY TURNED ON THE BRIGATE ROSSE? NO DOUBT, TERZI INSISTED. IT WAS NOT PUBLICIZING ITS COOPERATION, BUT IT WAS TURNING INFORMATION OVER TO THE POLICE FOR EVALUATION AND ACTION.

8. WAS LAMA STILL IN GOOD ODOR DESPITE HIS CONSERVATIVE TRADE UNION POLICIES? YES, LAMA WAS RIGHT, SAID TERZI. PRODUCTIVITY HAD TO BE INCREASED TO SAVE ITALIAN INDUSTRY FROM COLLAPSE. THE OPPOSITION CAME FROM THE CISL WHICH HAD BECOME THE HOME OF THE EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY LEFT.
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9. AS FOR THE ORIGINS OF THE TERRORISM, TERZI SAID IT WAS PRIMARILY AN ITALIAN PHENOMENON. HE THOUGHT THAT ITS FINANCING MIGHT ALSO BE CONNECTED WITH THE MAFIA BUT DOUBTED THAT FOREIGNERS COULD HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE. HE DID THINK THAT THERE WAS PROBABLY SOME RELATIONSHIP WITH THE BAADER MEINHOF MOVEMENT BECAUSE OF THEIR IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITIES. FINA

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ELECTION RESULTS, PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MILAN00823
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780224-1129
Format: TEL
From: MILAN
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780511/aaaaaiyb.tel
Line Count: 143
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 486f3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: 78 MILAN 182
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2537443
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PCI MILAN PROVINCIAL SECRETARY ON POST-ELECTION SITUATION
TAGS: PINT, IT
To: ROME
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/486f3895-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014